



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

Indian Treaties Affecting Lands in the Present State of Illinois.

By Frank R. Grover.

The romance and interest that ever surrounds "Indian Days" in America seems never to wane. As the years go by the younger generation of Americans turn from the Indian tales of their ancestors—the relations of the actors themselves, in the days of the Pioneer, to the countless books and writings that are ever painting vivid word pictures of the North American Indian in the days of his glory—before he became the victim of a white man's civilization. His traditions, myths and legends, his character, his eloquence, his manners and customs, the wrongs he has done and those he has suffered, have all in their turn supplied endless themes for the historian, the poet, the ethnologist and the writer of fiction. Longfellow's *Hiawatha*, as well as Schoolcraft's *Tales and Legends*, gathered

"From the forest and the prairies,
From the Great Lakes of the Northland,
From the land of the Ojibways,"

have not only permanently fastened their charm upon their first readers, but will forever interest their descendants yet unborn.

A subject that has heretofore been given frequent but only incidental attention is the Indian treaties, which have generally been considered only as the title papers, by which the white man acquired a white man's title to the Indian's land. It is my purpose to tell you regarding some of the Indian treaties affecting lands now constituting the State of Illinois.

To follow and describe all of these treaties in detail and their historical importance would not only extend this paper and discussion beyond reasonable limits, but would require

in effect the writing of the history of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys during those eventful years in American history that have intervened since the beginning of the American Revolution. It will therefore be my plan and purpose to consider these treaties more in their general aspect and significance than to follow all of them in the detail that would require unprofitable repetition respecting transactions and negotiations much alike in plan, purpose and results.

A very instructive summary of the plan and purpose of these Indian treaties is set forth by Mr. J. Seymour Currey in his recent history of Chicago (vol. 1, page 202), in the following concise words:

“From the time of the signing of the Treaty of Greenville in 1795, there was a series of Indian Treaties extending over thirty-eight years, particularly affecting the region of Illinois. Some of these treaties were merely declarations of friendship, others provided for territorial cessions, while some renewed the conditions of former treaties and included as participants additional tribes. The provisions of these treaties were often not clear to the ignorant chiefs, who, after the agreement was made and ratified, would raise objections and demand another council. The Government would then frame up a new treaty, including the former provisions as well as added ones, and again the chiefs were gathered to sign away, usually unwittingly, still more of what remained to them. The odds were all against them, with their unstable conditions of land tenure, their ignorance and barbarity on the one side, and the keen, often unscrupulous wits of the government agents on the other side. Finally came the great Treaty of Chicago in 1833 which provided for their removal to the west. It was long before the significance of this agreement came home to them, and they realized but slowly the seriousness of the Great Father’s intention to send them away from their dwellings to new lands.”

It is undoubtedly true that so long as there are historians to write, there will be most divergent views expressed regarding the rights of the Red Man, and how those rights have been violated and infringed, both in the methods of negotiat-

ing treaties, their fraudulent provisions, and inadequate compensation for lands, and in the matter of subsequent performance. It is very easy to espouse the cause of the Indian as the proprietor of the soil, the child of the forest and of the plains cheated by dishonest and unscrupulous government agents, with the use of whiskey and the gaudy and attractive wares and merchandise that resulted in the United States securing title to an Empire for a few cents an acre.

And, on the other hand, to remember the Indian as the vices of the white man's civilization had made him, and to then conclude that, after all, the requirements of civilization and progress—the survival of the fittest—made it a foregone conclusion that he must pass away.

To espouse either view is not within the scope or purpose of this paper. The facts speak for themselves. Probably neither view is the correct one. That in concluding many treaties, and in the performance of them, both the Indians and the government agents were fair is undoubtedly true. That later, in concluding some of the treaties here under consideration, the land-lust of the white man and the necessities of progress and the pioneer on the one hand, and the great reluctance of the Indian tribes on the other, to be ever crowded out of their native lands and pushed farther and farther to the west, led to methods on the part of government agents that were both questionable and an indelible disgrace to both the responsible agents themselves and a government that would countenance such action by later ratification, seems only too true.

One writer says: "No Government ever entertained more enlightened and benevolent intentions toward a weaker people than did that of the United States towards the Indian, but never in history, probably, has a more striking divergence between intention and performance been witnessed."

An Indian's view is also quoted by the same author in the following words: "When the United States want a particular piece of land, all our natives are assembled; a large sum of money is offered; the land is occupied probably by one nation only; nine-tenths have no actual interest in the land wanted;

if the particular nation interested refuses to sell, they are generally threatened by the others, who want the money or goods offered, to buy whiskey. Fathers, that is the way in which this small spot, which we so much value, has been so often torn from us." (Quaife, in *Chicago and the Old North West*, p. 179.)

Over and over again have the Indian orators presented similar complaints, both in councils among themselves and in conference with government agents when treaties were under consideration. And here it will not be out of place to briefly consider what the Indians on such occasions have had to say for themselves, of their relations to the white man and their rights as original proprietors of the soil.

Historians of reputation and standing have often treated the Indian Councils with Government Commissioners, when treaties were under consideration, very lightly, and with scant regard for the feelings of the Red Man, who quite generally was then and there not only requested but *required* to leave his home and native land and to depart to some remote country that he knew not of. One of these writers says: "An Indian Council, on solemn occasions, was always opened with preliminary forms, sufficiently wearisome and tedious. * * * An Indian orator was provided with a stock of metaphors, which he always made use of. * * * The orator seldom spoke without careful premeditation, and his memory was refreshed by belts of wampum, which he delivered after every clause in his harangue."

It is no doubt true that on some of these occasions the ceremonies were tedious and prolonged, and that some of the Chiefs delivered harangues burdened with useless and oft repeated metaphor. But it is no less true that we are indebted to the Indian treaties for the careful preservation of Indian oratory hardly equalled or excelled by the white man with all his books, his culture, and his learning. We are told by good authority that many of these great speeches, however carefully translated, necessarily lose the charm of the Indian tongue, that by intuition deals with nature in all its poetic beauty.

That it is not useless flattery to so designate the words of the Indian orator on such occasions, is plain and apparent when it is considered what he had at stake, that nature in the first instance made him an orator, which often accounted for his being the spokesman of his clan or tribe, that perhaps for months he and his tribesmen had given close heed and thought to the coming council and the importance of its decision; and at last, when called upon to speak and when he arose in the presence of the great men of the Indian Nations, the assembled Indian multitude and the attentive government agents, the orator—if orator he really was—met the climax of his career as the representative of his people and poured out his heart and soul with his best and final words as an earnest advocate of their righteous cause.

Indian metaphor so frequently used on such occasions had not only the poetic tinge, but added force as well as ornament to the speech, whether it be designated as oration or harangue. Its merit may be best judged by the fact that the sayings of these "Indian children" in addressing the council have not only been carefully preserved as part of our literature, but borrowed repeatedly and used over and over again, by the white orators of our own day, until they have permanently become figures of speech of our language. (See illustrations of such metaphorical sayings and expressions, Haines' *American Indian*, chap. XL, 111.)

Caleb Atwater, in writing a history of the Treaty of Prairie du Chien, that will receive later mention, thus speaks of the Indian orator at treaty making councils: "Before him sit the United States Commissioners, attended by a great number of military officers in full dress, the Indian agents, interpreters, and an army of soldiers under arms; the cannons with lighted matches, and indeed all the proud array of military life so fascinating to men in all ages of the world, are presented to his view."

"On each side of him sit all the chiefs and warriors of his nation, while behind him sit, in the full hearing of his voice, all the women and children of his people. His subject is one, then, of the highest conceivable importance to himself and

his whole nation. In breathless silence do they listen to every word he utters and with watchful eye mark every gesture he makes."

"Placed in such a situation, the character of his eloquence is easily conceived. It abounds with figures drawn from every object which nature presents to his eye. He thanks the Great Spirit that He has granted them a day for holding their council, with or without clouds, as the case may be. * * * He recalls to the minds of his audience the situation and circumstances of his ancestors when they inhabited the whole continent; when they, and they only, climbed every hill and mountain, cultivated in peace the most fertile spots of earth, angled in every stream, and hunted over every plain in quest of game, skimming the surface of every lake and stream in their birch bark canoes, with lodges in coolest shades in summer beside pure fountains, and where abundance of food was always at hand and easily obtained, and that all the labor they had to perform was only what the white man calls sport and pastime; that in winter they dwelt in the thickest forests, where they were protected from every piercing wind. * * * The white man came across the great water. * * * Indian pity was excited by the simple tale of the white man's wants and his request was granted. * * * Step by step he drove the Red Man before him, from river to river, from mountain to mountain, until the Red Man seated himself on a small territory as a final resting place, and now the white man wants even that small spot. * * * Thus is his whole soul, in every word, in every look, in every gesture, as he presents the rights of his people and the wrongs they have endured."

We are not only indebted to the negotiations and councils incident to the Indian Treaties for the preservation of the best efforts of the Indian orators, but the writers who were present and have described what occurred on such occasions have given us an interesting account and view of Indian pomp and ceremony at its best and most interesting stage; and also reliable information respecting the condition of the various tribes at the time the Treaties were concluded, and again, interesting accounts and descriptions of individual chiefs

whose names will not only ever live in American history, but which are stamped indelibly upon the maps of all our States.

The accounts of one or two eye witnesses of the transactions incident to the later treaties held at Chicago and Prairie du Chien, that will here receive consideration, are of interest and importance in all of these particulars. It is to be regretted that much of the romance that so generally attaches to the history of the primeval Red Man is greatly dimmed and marred, when he is seen as he actually appeared on these later occasions at the treaty making councils of Chicago and Prairie du Chien, a victim of the White Man's whiskey, and a sorry representative of his former greatness.

While each and all of the very many treaties with the Indians, directly and indirectly affecting lands now constituting the State of Illinois are of interest, extended consideration need only be given a very few of them, not exceeding seven in number. These seven treaties were not only the most important ones in the development and settlement of the State, and in shaping events that make the history of Illinois, but they present three distinct types of the treaties in respect to the end sought by the government agents. First, to end Indian wars against the settlers, and to secure peace with the Indians; second, to secure peace between hostile and warring tribes, and to establish boundaries between them; and third, to secure cessions of land for the use of the settlers. The seven treaties that will be so considered were concluded, respectively, in the years 1795, 1804, 1816, 1821, 1825, 1829 and 1833.

THE TREATY OF GREENVILLE.

There is probably no Indian treaty, with the exception of the memorable and historic treaty negotiated by William Penn, that is more frequently referred to by historians than the Treaty of Greenville, concluded August 3, 1795. While this treaty ceded very little land within the present boundaries of Illinois, it was of far reaching importance in the history and development of the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys and in shaping the destiny of the coming empire.

To write a complete history of this treaty in all the essential details that accuracy would require, would be to reproduce the history of the nation during the days of the Revolution and the years of trial, concern and uncertainty that succeeded the Treaty of Peace with Great Britain of September 3, 1783.

Great Britain retained possession of the principal Lake posts, contrary to the express provisions of the Treaty of Paris. It seems also to have been the plan of the Mother Country to keep possession of the territory north of the Ohio and west of the Alleghanies as long as possible, indulging the hope, if not the belief, that the experiment of the American Confederacy might prove such a failure that possession would never be required or enforced.

The surrender of possession carried with it also relinquishing the benefit there derived from the fur trade, to say nothing of the vast territory held and controlled by these forts and trading posts.

If the action of Great Britain had been confined alone to holding these forts and the territory thereby controlled, and to the flimsy excuses for so doing, the ground for complaint would not have been so great. But year after year, through British and Canadian agents, the Indians were, by continued intrigues and encouragement, led to war upon the settlers of the Ohio Valley and against the military forces of the United States.

It is not within the scope of this paper to deal in detail with all those bloody times and years that have been so graphically described by some of the participants and their later historians. The Indian Confederacy, led by Little Turtle, the great Chief of the Miamis; the hewing of military roads through the forests to reach and burn the Indian villages; the building of all the forts in the wilderness; the bravery of General Arthur Saint Clair, Governor of the North West Territory, who could not stay the utter rout of his army that fled before the mighty onslaught of the red men, are all matters of history. But at last, under the direction of the great Washington, came "the man of the hour"—"Mad Anthony

Wayne," a general whom Washington had watched through many battles of the Revolution; the man that led his soldiers in a bayonet charge to victory over the walls of the British fort at Stony Point, and who, with all his rashness, had as cool a head as his heart was stout—the new Governor of the North West Territory. Then came the bloody Indian "Battle of the Fallen Timbers" under his leadership, and at last, after forty years of Indian warfare, the Great Indian Treaty of Greenville, that one historian at least has designated "The Peace of Mad Anthony."

This treaty does not derive its importance from either the value or extent of the land ceded to the United States by the Indians. The first words of the preamble, unlike similar recitals in many other treaties, were significant not only in statement, but in later observance, viz.: "To put an end to a destructive war, to settle all controversies, and to restore harmony and a friendly intercourse between the United States and the Indian Tribes."

The pledge of peace and security thus given by the powerful tribes who were parties to this treaty—the Wyandots (Hurons), Delawares, Shawanoes, Ottawas, Chippewas (Ojibways), Pottawattomies, Miamis, Eel River Weeas, Kickapoos, Piankashaws and Kaskaskians—meant much for the cause of settlement and progress in the Ohio Valley, as the Indian Boundary fixed by this treaty gave about 25,000 square miles of land, constituting most of the present State of Ohio and a small part of Indiana, to the white men. Almost immediately over the Allegheny Mountains and down the Ohio River, and into all the fertile valleys of this domain, swarmed the hardy pioneers, that formed the ever rising and resistless tide that during the succeeding years swept westward through the forests and across the broad prairies, ever driving the Indians before it in the many successive stages of its westward journey.

William Henry Harrison, then a young man, was aide-de-camp to General Wayne, and his signature as such officer, with others, was appended to the treaty.

There are many interesting stipulations in this treaty that will be briefly quoted and referred to: * * * "Henceforth all hostilities shall cease, peace is hereby established and shall be perpetual." * * * "All prisoners shall on both sides be restored." * * * "Ten chiefs of said tribes shall remain at Greenville as hostages until the delivery of the prisoners shall be effected." * * *

Some sixteen tracts of land, comprising all the principal trading posts and portages in the territory now comprising the States of Ohio, Indiana, Michigan and Illinois, were ceded to the Government, including Mackinac Island and "one piece of land six miles square at the mouth of Chikago River, emptying into the South West end of Lake Michigan where a fort formerly stood." While these cessions were not large in area, still, including, as they did, all the western forts and trading posts of importance, with small parcels of land adjoining, with the further provisions of the treaty, that "the said Indian Tribes will allow * * * a free passage by land and water as one and the other shall be found convenient through their country along the chain of posts hereinbefore mentioned, * * * and the free use of the harbours and rivers along the lakes," practically gave the Government control of the country for trade, which the treaty further provided for, and opened the way for speedy settlement.

Of the details of the Council and the extended negotiations respecting this Treaty which proceeded daily from July 15 until August 3, 1795, little will here be said. After the calumet had been passed from chief to chief, General Wayne opened the Council with a speech. Then followed, day after day, the negotiations, other speeches and the usual Indian oratory, including the great speech of Little Turtle, showing that he was in fact a great leader and orator and a foeman worthy of the steel of even so great a man as Mad Anthony Wayne.

Thus ended not only this Indian war, but from one viewpoint the American Revolution itself. It has been said that no Indian chief or warrior who gave General Wayne the hand at Greenville ever after lifted the hatchet against the United States. Whether that be true or otherwise, this treaty marks

one of the great epochs in American history and was remembered and referred to by many an Indian orator at later similar councils, when other treaties were under consideration and during the next succeeding fifty years.

(Regarding Treaty of Greenville, see Wilson's *Peace of Mad Anthony*; Roosevelt's *Winning of the West*, vol. 5, Chap. 5; *Western Annals*; Blanchard's *North West*; *Indian Treaties* (1873 ed. p. 184.)

TREATY OF 1804 WITH THE SACS AND FOXES.

After the Treaty of Greenville the settlers not only came rapidly and in great numbers, but the ending of the Indian occupation moved rapidly forward; hence, during the first third of the nineteenth century Indian treaties of importance were concluded with unusual frequency.

In 1801 General William Henry Harrison was appointed governor of the then new Indiana Territory. It immediately became his policy to secure, as speedily as possible and whenever the occasion presented itself, cessions of land by the Indians to the United States. In 1804 he was at Saint Louis seeking satisfaction of the Sac Indians for the murder of three settlers, and, taking advantage of the situation, secured execution of a treaty by five of the chiefs of the Sacs and Foxes, ceding to the Government over fifty million acres of land in Missouri, Illinois and Wisconsin, including the land between the Illinois and Mississippi rivers, for \$2,234.50 in goods and a promised annuity of \$1,000.00. Black Hawk and his associates repudiated this treaty, claiming it was executed by the chiefs who signed it without authority or knowledge of their people. The subsequent disputes growing out of this treaty furnished the principal cause for the Black Hawk war.

The general policy of Governor Harrison and the United States, just noted, to progress treaty negotiations with the Indians, and the history of what was done in pursuance of that policy would not be complete without at least passing reference to the great Shawanee Chief, Tecumseh, who, with his brother, The Prophet (Ellskwatawa), undertook the gigantic and impossible task of forming an Indian Confed-

eracy to stay the tide of the advancing pioneers, and to prohibit further cession and conveyance of lands by the Indians, except by the unanimous consent of all the tribes, contending that the land belonged to all the Indian tribes in common, but for the use of each. This policy he boldly and forcibly presented to Governor Harrison in person at Vincennes in August, 1810.

Tecumseh's speeches on these and other occasions announcing his policy and presenting the rights of his people, not only show his great strength of character and purpose, but are quoted quite frequently as examples of the best Indian oratory. His efforts to arouse all the tribes of the North West by personal visits and appeals; the battle of Tippecanoe; his later appearance in the war of 1812 as a brigadier general in the British army, hoping thereby to further his plans and cause, and his final fighting to the death, at the head of the British and his Indian warriors in the lost battle of the Thames, are all of interest in our history, but not directly connected with the subject here considered.

The various Indian treaties bearing directly or indirectly upon the Black Hawk war, in all their aspects and from widely divergent viewpoints, have been fully and ably considered by Armstrong,* Stevens,† and many other writers of Illinois history. Extended comment, or further consideration, that would again extend this paper beyond reasonable limits, will therefore be omitted.

TREATY OF AUGUST 24, 1816, AT SAINT LOUIS.

On that date Ninian Edwards, William Clark and Auguste Chouteau negotiated a Treaty at Saint Louis with the Ottawas, Chippewas, and Pottawattomies, by which they ceded a strip of land twenty miles wide on the eastern boundary at Lake Michigan (being ten miles north and ten miles south of the Chicago River in width), and extending generally south west so as to include the Chicago Portage and a strip of land

*The Sauks and the Black Hawk War, by Perry A. Armstrong.

†Frank E. Stevens, Black Hawk War.

extending to the mouth of the Fox River. This strip of land was secured for the purpose of facilitating the building of the proposed canal. The boundaries of this cession appear upon many maps and records as "Indian Boundary Line," causing confusion and irregularity in land descriptions, as government surveys were made at different times on each side of these diagonal boundary lines; hence, the section lines did not meet each other, causing triangular fractional sections and confusion as to proper range and township.

The northern boundary of this cession is in Cook County, the center line of a highway known for over half a century as "Indian Boundary Road," extending to Lake Michigan, at the former boundary line between the City of Evanston and Chicago. Later the Chicago City Council changed the name of this highway to "Rogers Avenue." Repeated efforts of both the Chicago and Evanston Historical Societies to induce the Chicago City Council "to change back to its original form the name of this highway, thus restoring to it its former proper and historic name of 'Indian Boundary Road,' " have, it is to be greatly regretted, proved unavailing. (See resolution at joint meeting of these two Societies, held November 27, 1906.)

This treaty, like many others, contained a reservation to the Indians of the right to hunt and fish within the tract of land ceded "so long as it may continue to be the property of the United States."

TREATY OF AUGUST 29, 1821, AT CHICAGO.

While this treaty, negotiated by Governor Lewis Cass of Michigan and Solomon Sibley, did not cede any Illinois lands, it was a part of the general plan and scheme of the Government to extinguish the Indian title, and in this instance particularly to secure the Indian lands in Michigan south of Grand River and east of the Lake. On this occasion the Pottawattomie chief, Metea, made his eloquent and historic speech so often quoted by Indian historians.

Mr. Schoolcraft, in his book, *Travels In The Central Part Of The Mississippi Valley* (pp. 335, 371), gives an extended

account of what he saw and heard on this occasion, both as he approached Chicago by the Portage and after his arrival. He says:

"On crossing the Des Plaines we found the opposite shore thronged with Indians." * * * "From this point we were scarcely ever out of sight of straggling parties, all proceeding to the same place. Most commonly they were mounted on horses and apparelled in their best manner and decorated with medals, silver bands and feathers. The gaudy and showy dresses of these troops of Indians, with jingling caused by the striking of their ornaments, and their spirited manner of riding created a scene as novel as it was interesting. Proceeding from all parts of a very extensive circle of country, like rays converging to a focus, the nearer we approached the more compact and concentrated the body became." * * * "The dust, confusion and noise increased at every bypath that intersected our way." * * * "We found on reaching the post that between two and three thousand Indians were assembled, chiefly Pottawattomies, Ottawas and Chippewas. Many arrived on the following days." * * *

"To accommodate the large assemblage * * * an open bower, provided with seats for the principals, chiefs and head men, had been put up on the green, extending along the north bank of Chicago Creek, * * * directly under the guns of the fort, ensured both safety and order for the occasion. The formalities which custom has prescribed in negotiations of this kind occupied the first two or three days after our arrival, during which time the number of Indians was constantly augmented. It was not until the 17th that they were formally met in council, when Governor Cass addressed them."

Schoolcraft then gives the Governor's speech in full, substantially to the effect that "Your Father" has observed that the Indians possess an extensive country, with little game, and which they do not cultivate nor appear to want, and that the commissioners have come to purchase it at a liberal price to be agreed upon, and that the goods had been brought to Chicago ready for the purchase; that the Indians should

counsel among themselves, refrain from whiskey, and make answer "by the day after to-morrow."

"Each sentence being distinctly translated was received with the usual response of 'Hoah!' a term that on these public occasions is merely indicative of attention. A short pause ensued, during which some customary presents were issued, when Me-te-a, the Pottawattomie Chief from the Wabash, made the following laconic reply:

"My father, we have listened to what you have said. We shall now retire to our camps and consult upon it. You will hear nothing from us at present."

Mr. Schoolcraft gives an extended, detailed and interesting account of much that subsequently occurred, including many of the speeches, both by the Indians and by Governor Cass, also one by John Kinzie, which Mr. Schoolcraft says was received by the Indians "with conclusive effect."

This last statement, considered in connection with the special reservations" given to particular individuals, and a letter of January 1, 1821, written by Wolcott, the Chicago Indian agent, to Governor Cass, suggesting that "before the period of treating arrives" * * * "it will be necessary to bribe their chief men by very considerable presents and promises," * * * with which Cass expressed approval (see Indian Department, Cass correspondence, Wolcott to Cass, January 1, 1821; also Quaife, p. 346), would tend to indicate quite conclusively that Mr. Schoolcraft has omitted much of the *inside* history of this treaty.

His observations respecting the purchase on this occasion of over five million acres of land for the paltry consideration stipulated in the treaty, and his resenting criticism of it, (see pp. 369-373) would further indicate that such omissions were more than probable.

Whether Mr. Schoolcraft was, or was not, a party to the intrigues that seem to have carried the treaty through, he has rendered a great service as an historian in describing much that occurred, of which he was an eye witness.

To him we are indebted for an accurate description of the personal appearance of Metea, the leading orator of his

nation, who, as Schoolcraft says, stood tall, erect and firm, wearing gracefully a red military plume, and with a ready command of language, a pleasant voice and forceful gestures, bold, fearless and original in expression, thus answered Governor Cass, in the speech which Schoolcraft wrote down at the time word for word, as given by the interpreters:

“My Father—We meet you here to-day, because we had promised it, to tell you our minds, and what we have agreed upon among ourselves. You will listen to us with a good mind, and believe what we say.

“My Father—You know that we first came to this country a long time ago, and when we sat ourselves down upon it we met with a great many hardships and difficulties. Our country was then very large, but it has dwindled away to a small spot; and you wish to purchase that! This has caused us to reflect much upon what you have told us, and we have, therefore, brought along all the chiefs and warriors, and the young men and women and children of our tribe, that one part may not do what the others object to, and that all may be witnesses of what is going forward.

“My Father—You know your children. Since you first came among them, they have listened to your words with an attentive ear; and have always hearkened to your counsels. Whenever you have had a proposal to make to us—whenever you have had a favour to ask of us, we have always lent a favourable ear, and our invariable answer has been ‘Yes.’ This you know!

“My Father—A long time has passed since we first came upon our lands; and our old people have all sunk into their graves. They had sense. We are all young and foolish, and do not wish to do anything that they would not approve, were they living. We are fearful we shall offend their spirits if we sell our lands; and we are fearful we shall offend you if we do *not* sell them. This has caused us great perplexity of thought, because we have counselled among ourselves, and do not know how we can part with the land.

“My Father—Our country was given to us by the Great Spirit, who gave it to us to hunt upon, to make our

corn fields upon, to live upon, and to make down our beds upon, when we die. And He would never forgive us should we now bargain it away. When you first spoke to us for lands at St. Mary's, we said we had a little, and agreed to sell you a piece of it; but we told you we could spare no more. Now, you ask us again. You are never satisfied!

"My Father—We have sold you a great tract of land already; but it is not enough! We sold it to you for the benefit of your children, to farm and to live upon. We have now but little left. We shall want it all for ourselves. We know not how long we may live, and we wish to leave some lands for our children to hunt upon. You are gradually taking away our hunting grounds. Your children are driving us before them. We are growing uneasy. What lands you have, you may retain forever; but we shall sell no more.

"My Father—You think, perhaps, that I speak in passion; but my heart is good towards you. I speak like one of your own children. I am an Indian, a red-skin, and live by hunting and fishing, but my country is already too small; and I do not know how to bring up my children, if I give it all away. We sold you a fine tract of land at St. Mary's. We said to you then, it was enough to satisfy your children, and the last we should sell; and we thought it would be the last you would ask for.

"My Father—We have now told you what we had to say. It is what was determined on in a council among ourselves; and what I have spoken is the voice of my nation. On this account, all our people have come here to listen to me; but do not think we have a bad opinion of you. Where should we get a bad opinion of you? We speak to you with a good heart, and the feelings of a friend.

"My Father—You are acquainted with this piece of land, the country we live in. Shall we give it up? Take notice, it is a small piece of land, and if we give it away, what will become of us? The Great Spirit, who has provided it for our use, allows us to keep it, to bring up our young men and support our families. We should incur His anger if we bar-

tered it away. If we had more land, you should get more, but our land has been wasting away ever since the white people became our neighbors, and we have now hardly enough left to cover the bones of our tribe.

“My Father—You are in the midst of your red children. What is due to us, in money, we wish and will receive at this place; and we want nothing more.

“My Father—We all shake hands with you. Behold our warriors, our women and children. Take pity on us, and on our words.”

The dignity and friendship of this speech and the firm determination not to part with the land, is not only apparent, but indicates that pressure, and methods to some extent undisclosed, must have been later applied in the extended negotiations which followed day after day, and that ultimately moved the Indians to do what Metea and the other chiefs in the first instance firmly declined, and for which final action they were later both criticised and persecuted by their own people.

TREATY OF PRAIRIE DU CHIEN, CONCLUDED AUGUST 19, 1825,
WITH THE SIOUX, CHIPPEWAS, SACS AND FOXES, MENOM-
INIES, IOWAS, WINNEBAGOES, OTTAWAS AND
POTTAWATTAMIES.

The purpose of this Treaty was not the usual one to secure cessions of land from the Indians, but is thus stated in the preamble to the Treaty: “The United States of America have seen with much regret that wars have for many years been carried on between the Sioux and the Chippewas, and more recently between the Sacs and Foxes and the Sioux; which if not terminated may extend to the other tribes and involve the Indians upon the Missouri, the Mississippi and the Lakes in general hostilities. In order, therefore, to promote peace among these tribes, and to establish boundaries among them and the other tribes who live in their vicinity, and thereby to remove all causes of future difficulty, have invited * * * the tribes * * * to assemble together, and in a

spirit of mutual conciliation to accomplish these objects; and to aid therein, have appointed William Clark and Lewis Cass Commissioners." The fifteen articles of the treaty deal exclusively with the subject matter of the preamble in fixing boundaries and respective rights of hunting, providing for future and enduring peace between the tribes, and acknowledging "the general controlling power of the United States" to take such measures as "they may deem proper," in case "difficulty hereafter should unhappily arise."

Mr. Schoolcraft, who was Indian Agent at that time at the Sault, came all the way to Prairie du Chien in a canoe to assist in the negotiations. He wrote an account of this treaty that is interesting in many particulars, especially so as the Indians of the many tribes and clans then at Prairie du Chien came from far and near, from the great forests of the North, and from the far away western plains, hence representing interesting types living remote from white men and resembling more the primeval Red Man of former days, than his later descendants, so much in evidence at that period, in the Council house at the invitation of Treaty framing Commissioners. Mr. Schoolcraft, (*Thirty Years with the Indian Tribes*, chap. XXIII) thus describes his journey, the Indians he saw, and what occurred at Prairie du Chien:

"We finally left Mackinack for our destination on the Mississippi on the 1st of July. The convocation to which we were now proceeding was for the purpose of settling internal disputes between the tribes, by fixing the boundaries to their respective territories, and thus laying the foundation of a lasting peace on the frontiers. And it marks an era in the policy of our negotiations with the Indians which is memorable. No such gathering of the tribes had ever before occurred, and its results have taken away the necessity of any in future, so far as relates to the lines on the Mississippi.

"We encountered head winds, and met with some delay in passing through the straits into Lake Michigan, and after escaping an imminent hazard of being blown off into the open lake, in a fog, reached Green Bay on the 4th. The journey up the Fox River, and its numerous portages, was re-

sumed on the 14th, and after having ascended the river to its head, we crossed over the Fox and Wisconsin portage, and descending the latter with safety, reached Prairie du Chien on the 21st, making the whole journey from Mackinack in twenty-one days.

“We found a very large number of the various tribes assembled. Not only the village, but the entire banks of the river for miles above and below the town, and the island in the river, was covered with their tents. The Dakotahs, with their high pointed buffalo skin tents, above the town, and their decorations and implements of flags, feathers, skins and personal “braveries,” presented the scene of a Bedouin encampment. Some of the chiefs had the skins of skunks tied to their heels, to symbolize that they never ran, as that animal is noted for its slow and self-possessed movements.

“Wanita, the Yankton chief, had a most magnificent robe of the buffalo, curiously worked with dyed porcupine’s quills and sweet grass. A kind of war flag, made of eagles’ and vultures’ large feathers, presented quite a martial air. War clubs and lances presented almost every imaginable device of paint; but by far the most elaborate thing was their pipes of red stone, curiously carved, and having flat wooden handles of some four feet in length, ornamented with the scalps of the red-headed woodpecker and male duck, and tail feathers of birds artificially attached by strings and quill work, so as to hang in the figure of a quadrant. But the most elaborately wrought part of the devices consisted of dyed porcupines’ quills, arranged as a kind of aboriginal mosaic.

“The Winnebagoes, who speak a cognate dialect of the Dacotah, were encamped near; and resembled them in their style of lodges, arts, and general decorations.

“The Chippewas presented the more usually known traits, manners and customs of the great Algonquin family—of whom they are, indeed, the best representatives. The tall and war-like bands from the sources of the Mississippi—from La Point, in Lake Superior—from the valleys of the Chippewa and St. Croix Rivers and the Rice Lake region of

Lac du Flambeau, and of Sault Ste. Marie, were well represented.

"The cognate tribe of the Menomonies, and of the Pottawattomies and Ottowas from Lake Michigan, assimilated and mingled with the Chippewas. Some of the Iroquois of Green Bay were present."

"But no tribes attracted as intense a degree of interest as the Iowas, and the Sacs and Foxes—tribes of radically diverse languages, yet united in a league against the Sioux. These tribes were encamped on the island, or opposite coast. They came to the treaty ground, armed and dressed as a war party. They were all armed with spears, clubs, guns and knives. Many of the warriors had a long tuft of red horse hair tied at their elbows, and wore a necklace of grizzly bears' claws. Their head dress consisted of red dyed horse hair, tied in such manner to the scalp lock as to present the shape of the decoration of a Roman helmet. The rest of the head was completely shaved and painted. A long iron shod lance was carried in the hand. A species of baldric supported part of their arms. The azian, moccason and leggins constituted a part of their dress. They were, indeed, nearly nude, and painted. Often the print of a hand, in white clay, marked the back or shoulders. They bore flags of feathers. They beat drums. They uttered yells at definite points. They landed in compact ranks. They looked the very spirit of defiance. Their leader stood as a prince, majestic and frowning. The wild, native pride of man, in the savage state, flushed by success in war, and confident in the strength of his arm, was never so fully depicted to my eyes. And the forest tribes of the continent may be challenged to have ever presented a spectacle of bold daring, and martial prowess, equal to their landing.

"Their martial bearing, and their high tone, and whole behavior during their stay, in and out of council, was impressive and demonstrated, in an eminent degree, to what a high pitch of physical and moral courage, bravery and success in war may lead a savage people. Keokuk, who led them, stood with his war lance, high crest of feathers and daring

eye, like another Coriolanus, and when he spoke in council, and at the same time shook his lance at his enemies, the Sioux, it was evident that he wanted but an opportunity to make their blood flow like water. Wapelo and other chiefs backed him, and the whole array, with their shaved heads and high crests of red horse hair, told the spectator plainly that each of these men held his life in his hand, and was ready to spring to the work of slaughter at the cry of their chief.

“General William Clark, from St. Louis, was associated with General Cass in this negotiation. The great object was to lay the foundation of a permanent peace by establishing boundaries. Day after day was assigned to this, the agents laboring with the chiefs, and making themselves familiar with Indian bark maps and drawings. The thing pleased the Indians. They clearly saw that it was a benevolent effort for their good, and showed a hearty mind to work in the attainment of the object. The United States asked for no cession. Many glowing harangues were made by the chiefs, which gave scope to their peculiar oratory, which is well worth the preserving. Mongazid, of Fond du Lac, Lake Superior, said:

‘When I heard the voice of my Great Father, coming up the Mississippi Valley calling me to this treaty, it seemed as a murmuring wind. I got up from my mat, where I sat musing, and hastened to obey it. My pathway has been clear and bright. Truly, it is a pleasant sky above our heads this day. There is not a cloud to darken it. I hear nothing but pleasant words. The raven is not waiting for his prey. I hear no eagle cry, ‘Come let us go. The feast is ready; the Indian has killed his brother.’

“When nearly a whole month had been consumed in these negotiations, a treaty of limits was signed, which will long be remembered in the Indian reminiscences. This was on the 19th of August (1825), *vide* Indian Treaties, p. 371. It was a pleasing sight to see the explorer of the Columbia in 1806, and the writer of the proclamation of the army that invaded Canada in 1812, uniting in a task boding so much good to the tribes whose passions and trespasses on each other’s lands keep them perpetually at war.

“At the close of the treaty an experiment was made on the moral sense of the Indians, with regard to intoxicating liquors, which was evidently of too refined a character for their just appreciation. It had been said by the tribes that the true reason for the Commissioners of the United States Government speaking against the use of ardent spirits by the Indians, and refusing to give them, was not a sense of its bad effects, so much as the fear of the expense. To show them that the government was above such a petty principle, the Commissioners had a long row of tin camp kettles, holding several gallons each, placed on the grass, from one end of the council house to the other, and then, after some suitable remarks, each kettle was spilled out in their presence. The thing was evidently ill relished by the Indians. They loved the whiskey better than the joke.”

**TREATY OF PRAIRIE DU CHIEN OF JULY 29, 1829, WITH THE
POTTAWATTAMIES, CHIPPEWAS AND OTTOWAS.**

By this Treaty these three tribes ceded a large territory in Illinois and Wisconsin, lying between Rock River and the Mississippi, and a further large tract of land between Rock River and Lake Michigan, to the West and North of the cession of 1816. On Lake Michigan it included in width the land now constituting the city of Evanston and most of the adjoining village of Wilmette.

The description of the northern boundary of this latter tract is: “Beginning on the Western shore of Lake Michigan, at the North East corner of the field of Antoine Ouilmette, who lives at Gross Pointe, about twelve miles north of Chicago, thence running due west to the Rock River.”

Antoine Ouilmette, a Frenchman thus referred to, is much in evidence, not only in the early history of Chicago, Evanston and Wilmette, but in the negotiations respecting this treaty, as well as the later Chicago Treaty of 1833. He came to Chicago in 1790, married a Pottawatamie wife (Archange); located at Gross Pointe (now Evanston and Wilmette) prior to 1828, was an employee of the American Fur Company and of John Kinzie. The name of Wilmette village

originates from the phonetic spelling of his French name, O-u-i-l-m-e-t-t-e. He was a man of wide acquaintance, both among the whites and the Indians in this region for half a century. Elijah M. Haines (*The American Indian*, pp. 550-560) claims that through the connivance of Dr. Wolcott, Chicago Indian Agent, and Ouilmette, two chiefs—Alexander Robinson and Billy Caldwell—were elected to that office in the Pottawattamie tribe at Prairie du Chien for the express purpose of signing this treaty. Haines bases his statement upon a personal interview he had with Robinson to that effect, from which the following is quoted:

“Mr. Robinson, when and how did you become a chief?”

“Me made chief at the treaty of Prairie du Chien.”

“How did you happen to be made chief?”

“Old Wilmette, he come to me one day and he say: ‘Dr. Wolcott want me and Billy Caldwell to be chief. He ask me if I will. Me say yes, if Dr. Wolcott want me to be.’”

“After the Indians had met together at Prairie du Chien for the Treaty, what was the first thing done?”

“The first thing they do, they make me and Billy Caldwell chiefs; then we be chiefs; * * * then we all go and make the treaty.”

Consistent with the custom that seems at that period to have been gaining in popularity, in order to “*put through*” an Indian treaty, over fifteen thousand acres of land were parceled out to sixteen favored individuals, some of them Frenchmen, some of them Indian wives of white men, and many of them actual signers of the Treaty as Indian chiefs and head men. Among such “special reservations” were two sections of land to Archange Ouilmette and her children, later known as The Ouilmette Reservation, and constituting most of the present Village of Wilmette and a part of Evanston. Mr. Haines claims that this was a bribe for Ouilmette’s influence in securing the execution of the Treaty, with which, however, there is good ground for disagreement, considering Ouilmette’s prior friendship for the whites in the war of 1812 and the later Black Hawk war, and considering, also, his prior occupancy of the land. Chiefs Robinson and Caldwell

were handsomely taken care of, both in this treaty and subsequent ones, in the way of annuities, cash and lands, as were also their friends. And "Shab-eh-nay" (Shabbona) received a well deserved reservation for his own use.

(For detailed history of Ouilmette and his family, see Evanston Hist. So., Colls., and Grover's Ouilmette.)

Mr. Haines' account of this treaty is of interest in many particulars. While he says that the Indians were imposed upon by the conspiracy of Dr. Wolcott to put it through as a part of the Government policy to extinguish the Indian title. He gives Wolcott not only credit for his fidelity to Government interests, but says that he was the "master spirit" in planning and executing the general Indian policy of the time so frequently credited to Governor Cass. While some of Mr. Haines' statements are subject to question, his observations on this subject and regarding this treaty are entitled to consideration.

Concurrent with the negotiation of this treaty at Prairie du Chien, several other treaties were also there concluded with other tribes. One of the Government Commissioners was Caleb Atwater, a politician from Ohio, who later in a book of travels (*Western Antiquities and Remarks on a Tour to Prairie du Chien in 1829*) gives a very entertaining and instructive account of the proceedings and of what was said and done to impress the Indians and to secure their signatures to the treaty. When one considers all the settings that made the occasion, as Atwater says, a "spectacle grand and morally sublime in the highest degree to the nations of Red Men who were present"; that for the comparatively insignificant compensation stipulated in the treaties the Indians parted with their title to eight million acres of land, and that after the concluding of the Treaties, forty-two of the chiefs and head men sat for two hours on raised benches, admiring the gaudy wares and merchandise for which they had sold their birth-right, wearing in the month of August, fur hats "with three beautiful ostrich plumes in each hat", gowned in ruffled calico shirts and adorned with cheap jewelry and the Government medals, given them by the Commissioners,

as supposed tokens of merit and of esteem—when the picture thus painted by Mr. Atwater is considered from any viewpoint—there must be but one conclusion—that the Indian after all was not only in this aspect a mere child, but that the spectator could truly say with Pope:

“Behold the child, by Nature’s kindly law,
Pleased with a rattle, tickled with a straw.”

While Mr. Atwater’s account and description of these transactions will interest the reader, there will ever be scant sympathy with his apparent pride in the bargain he assisted in driving. And there will also ever be sympathy for the poor Indian, who, with tears of joy in his eyes, and with thankful kindness toward the man that helped drive such a bargain, shook his hand, and departed from the Fort at Prairie du Chien, at the sound of the signal gun, fired for the express purpose of accelerating his departure. Mr. Atwater says:

“The officers at the fort erected a council shade near the fort and in about three days we were ready to hold a public council.” * * *

“When everything was in readiness for the opening of the council, the Indians of all the tribes and nations, on the treaty ground, attended and requested to have translated to them severally, what we said to each tribe; which being assented to on our part, the Winnebagoes, the Chippewas, Ottowas, Pottawattomies, Sioux, Sauks, Foxes and Menominees, half-breeds, the officers of the fort, the Indian Agents, sub-agents, interpreters, and a great concourse of strangers from every city of the Union, and even from Liverpool, London, and Paris were in attendance.”

“The commissioners sat on a raised bench; on each side of them stood the officers of the army in full dress, while the soldiers, in their best attire, appeared in bright array, on the sides of the council shade. The ladies belonging to the officers’ families and the best families in the Prairie, were seated directly behind the commissioners, where they could see all that passed and hear all that was said. Behind the

principal Indian Chiefs sat the common people—first, the men, then the women and children, to the number of thousands, who listened in breathless and death-like silence to every word that was uttered. The spectacle was grand and morally sublime in the highest degree to the nations of red men who were present; and when our proposition to sell all their country to their Great Father had been delivered to them, they requested an exact copy of it in writing. The request was instantly complied with, and the council broke up. Next day we addressed the Winnebagoes, as we had the Chippewas, etc., the day before, and at their request gave them a copy of our speech.”

“After counseling among themselves, the Chippewas, etc., answered favorably as to a sale, though they would do nothing yet until they had fixed on their terms.”

“The Winnebagoes appeared in council and delivered many speeches to us. They demanded the twenty thousand dollars worth of goods. ‘Wipe out your debt,’ was their reply, ‘before you run in debt again to us.’”

“Our goods, owing to the low stage of water, had not arrived yet, and the Indians feared we did not intend to fulfill Governor Cass’ agreement of the year before. When our goods did arrive and they saw them, they then changed their tone a little; but in the meantime great uneasiness existed. * * * We were told by the Winnebagoes that they ‘would use a little switch upon us.’ In plain English, they would assassinate the whole of us out of the Fort. Two hundred warriors, under Keeokuk and Morgan, of Sauks and Foxes arrived and began their war dance for the United States, and they brought word that thirty steamboats with cannon and United States troops, and four hundred warriors of their own were near at hand. The Winnebagoes were silenced by this intelligence, and by demonstrations not misunderstood by them.”

“It was a season of great joy with me, who placed more reliance on Keeokuk and his friendly warriors than all our other forces. Good as our officers were, our soldiers of the

army were too dissipated and worthless to be relied on one moment."

"Taking Keeokuk aside, and alone, I told him in plain English all I wanted of him, and what I would do for him, and what I expected from him and his good offices. He replied in good English: 'I understand you, sir, perfectly, and it shall all be done.' It was all done faithfully, and he turned the tide in our favor."

"On the 29th day of July, 1829, we concluded our treaties with the Chippewas, Ottowas and Pottawattomies."

"On the 1st of August a treaty was concluded with the Winnebagoes."

"So the treaties were executed at last, and about eight million acres of land added to our domain, purchased from the Indians. Taking the three tracts ceded, and forming one whole, it extends from the upper end of Rock Island to the mouth of the Wisconsin." * * * "South of the Wisconsin the Indians now own only reservations where they live, which, as soon as the white people settle on all the ceded lands, will be sold to us, and the Indians will retire above the Wisconsin and across the Mississippi, where the bear, the beaver, the deer and the bison now invite them. The United States now own all the country on the east side of the Mississippi from the Gulf of Mexico to the mouth of the Wisconsin." * * *

The conclusion of the treaty and the departure of the Indians from Prairie du Chien is further told in the following words: "Seated upon rising ground, on benches; clad in blankets, either green or red, covered with handsome fur, hats, with three beautiful ostrich plumes in each hat; dressed in ruffled calico shirts, leggings and moccasins—all new, and faces painted to suit the fancy of each individual, who held in his hand a new rifle—adorned, too, with silver brooches, silver clasps on each arm, and a large medal suspended on each breast—the Winnebago chiefs, principal warriors and head men to the number of forty-two, sat during two hours after all the goods had been delivered to the nation."

"Every individual of both sexes in the nation had lying directly before his person, on the ground, the share of goods

belonging to the individual. Great pains had been taken to give each, such and just so many clothes as would be suitable to wear during the year to come. The pile of clothes for each person was nearly two feet in thickness, the sight of which entirely overcame with joy our red friends, as they sat during two hours, in the most profound silence, not taking off their eyes one moment from the goods now their own. Their minds were entirely overcome with joy. The Indians were then told to depart at the sound of the signal gun—the great cannon at the fort to be fired in their honor.”

Of their departure, Atwater further says: “With one accord they all arose, and, shaking me heartily by the hand, many of them shedding tears, they one and all invited me to visit them at their respective places of abode.” * * * “In a few minutes they were off, covering a considerable surface with their canoes, each one of which carried a flag, floating in the gentle breeze which ruffled the surface of the Mississippi.”

“The Chippewas, Ottowas and Pottawattomies had received their goods in the same manner as the Winnebagoes, had been treated precisely in the same way, and three guns, one for each nation, had given them a signal to depart, and they had parted with me in the same kind and affectionate manner.” * * *

FINAL TREATY OF CHICAGO WITH THE POTTAWATTAMIES, CHIPPEWAS AND OTTOWAS, CONCLUDED SEPTEMBER 26, 1833.

This final cession extinguished the Indian title in Illinois, ceded a vast territory “supposed to contain,” the treaty says, “about five million acres,” and provided for and resulted in the final removal of the Indians west of the Mississippi.

Whatever may be the view of the writer or the reader of Illinois history respecting the status and rights of the Indian; whether the land he has occupied be considered as the inevitable and just spoil of advancing civilization, or otherwise; what was seen and heard on this occasion at Chicago must ever arouse the sympathy of all thinking men. The Potta-

wattomies, that former proud and powerful nation, there exhibited in all their degradation and decline, were compelled by circumstances to which they had made no contribution, to forever desert the land of their fathers and terminate a residence of more than a century and a half at the demand of their more powerful masters.

Chicago, in 1833, was but an insignificant frontier village, but it was then the scene of a great historic drama, both picturesque and pathetic. Latrobe's account, so often quoted by the writers, cannot be improved upon, either for accuracy nor entertaining description, and much of it will be here set out in his own words. Before doing so, however, let us see the viewpoint from which he wrote.

Charles J. Latrobe was an Englishman of learning, a traveler of note, both in America and elsewhere; on some of his journeys with Washington Irving as his traveling companion. He was also a writer of marked ability, served his country as Governor of New South Wales and another English colony, and, above all, he was a close observer of men and events. His favorable views of America and Americans are in striking contrast with many other English writers of his time, so that he cannot be charged with prejudice; and as he made a long and hard journey to Chicago for the express purpose of witnessing the tribes and incidents having to do with this treaty, his account under such circumstances is of more than ordinary interest. He says ("The Rambler in North America," dedicated to Washington Irving, vol. 2, chap. XI):

"Hearing, therefore, that a treaty with the Indian tribes of the Pottawattomies was expected to take place at Chicago, towards the lower extremity of Lake Michigan, and that means might be found to cross the State of Illinois to the valley of the Mississippi, we resolved upon proceeding to Chicago."

"A public vehicle conveyed us across the peninsula of Michigan, over a tract of country which five or six years ago had been traversed by nothing but Indian trails, but which now was rapidly filling with a settled population from the

eastward, and all the concomitants of ploughed land, girdled trees, log huts—towns, villages and farms.” * * *

“When within five miles of Chicago we came to the first Indian encampment. Five thousand Indians were said to be collected round this little upstart village, for the prosecution of the Treaty, by which they were to cede their lands in Michigan and Illinois.” * * *

“I have been in many odd assemblages of my species, but in few, if any, of an equally singular character as with that in the midst of which we spent a week at Chicago.”

“This little mushroom town is situated upon the verge of a perfectly level tract of country, for the greater part consisting of open prairie lands, at a point where a small river—whose sources interlock in the wet season with those of the Illinois—enters Lake Michigan.” * * *

“We found the village on our arrival crowded to excess, and we procured with great difficulty a small apartment; comfortless, and noisy from its close proximity to others, but quite as good as we could have hoped for.”

“The Pottawattomies were encamped on all sides—on the wide, level prairie beyond the scattered village, beneath the shelter of the low woods which chequered them, on the side of the small river, or to the leeward of the sand hills near the beach of the lake. They consisted of three principal tribes, with certain adjuncts from smaller tribes. The main divisions are the Pottawattomies of the Prairie and those of the Forest, and these are subdivided into distinct villages under their several chiefs.”

“The General Government of the United States, in pursuance of the scheme of removing the whole Indian population westward of the Mississippi, had empowered certain gentlemen to frame a Treaty with these tribes, to settle the terms upon which the cession of their Reservations in these States should be made.”

“A preliminary council had been held with the chiefs some days before our arrival. The principal Commissioner had opened it, as we learnt, by stating that, ‘as their Great Father in Washington had heard that they wished to sell their land,

he had sent Commissioners to treat with them.' The Indians promptly answered by their organ, 'that their Great Father in Washington must have seen a bad bird, which had told him a lie, for that, far from wishing to sell their land, they wished to keep it.' The Commissioner, nothing daunted, replied 'that, nevertheless, as they had come together for a Council, they must take the matter into consideration.' He then explained to them promptly the wishes and intentions of their Great Father, and asked their opinion thereon. Thus pressed, they looked at the sky, saw a few wandering clouds, and straightway adjourned *sine die*, as the weather is not clear enough for so solemn a council."

"However, as the Treaty had been opened, provision was supplied to them by regular rations; and the same night they had great rejoicings—danced the war dance, and kept the eyes and ears of all open by running howling about the village."

"Such was the state of affairs on our arrival. Companies of old warriors might be seen sitting smoking under every bush; arguing, palavering or 'powwowing' with great earnestness; but there seemed no possibility of bringing them to another Council in a hurry."

"Meanwhile the village and its occupants presented a most motley scene." * * *

"Next in rank to the Officers and Commissioners may be noticed certain storekeepers and merchants, resident here; looking either to the influx of new settlers establishing themselves in the neighborhood, or those passing yet farther to the westward, for custom and profit; not to forget the chance of extraordinary occasions like the present. Add to these a doctor or two, two or three lawyers, a land agent, and five or six hotelkeepers. These may be considered as stationary, and proprietors of the half a hundred clapboard houses around you."

"Then for the birds of passage, exclusive of the Pottawatomies, of whom more anon—and emigrants and land-speculators as numerous as the sand. You will find horse-dealers, and horse-stealers,—rogues of every description,

white, black, brown, and red—half-breeds, quarter breeds, and men of no breed at all; dealers in pigs, poultry, and potatoes; men pursuing Indian claims, some for tracts of land, others like our friend Snipe, for pigs which the wolves had eaten; creditors of the tribes, or of particular Indians, who know that they have no chance of getting their money, if they do not get it from the Government agents; sharpers of every degree; peddlars, grog-sellers; Indian agents and Indian traders of every description, and contractors to supply the Pottawatomies with food. The little village was in an uproar from morning to night, and from night to morning; for, during the hours of darkness, when the housed portion of the population of Chicago strove to obtain repose in the crowded plank edifices of the village, the Indians howled, sang, wept, yelled, and whooped in their various encampments. With all this, the whites seemed to me to be more pagan than the red men.”

“You will have understood, that the large body of Indians, collected in the vicinity, consisted not merely of chiefs and warriors, but that in fact the greater part of the whole tribe were present. For where the warrior was invited to feast at the expense of the Government, the squaw took care to accompany him; and where the squaw went, the children or pap-pooes, the ponies, and the innumerable dogs followed; and here they all were living merrily at the cost of the Government.”

“Of their dress, made up as it is of a thousand varieties of apparel, but little general idea can be given. There is nothing among them that can be called a national costume. That has apparently long been done away with, or at least so far cloaked under their European ornaments, blankets, and finery, as to be scarcely distinguishable. Each seemed to clothe him or herself as best suited their individual means or taste. Those who possessed the means, were generally attired in the most fantastic manner, and the most gaudy colours. A blanket and breech-cloth was possessed with a very few exceptions by the poorest among the males. Most added leggings, more or less ornamented, made of blue, scarlet, green, or brown broadcloth; and the surcoats of every colour,

and every material; together with rich sashes, and gaudy shawl or handkerchief-turbans."

"All these diverse articles of clothing, with the embroidered petticoats and shawls of the richer squaws, and the complicated head-dress, were covered with innumerable trinkets of all descriptions, thin plates of silver, beads, mirrors and embroidery. On their faces, the black and vermilion paint was disposed a thousand ways, more or less fanciful and horrible. Comparatively speaking, the women were seldom seen gaily drest, and dandyism seemed to be more particularly the prerogative of the males, many of whom spent hours at the morning toilet. I remember seeing one old fool, who, lacking other means of adornment and distinction, had chalked the whole of his face and bare limbs white."

"All, with very few exceptions, seemed sunk into the lowest state of degradation, though some missionary efforts have been made among them also by the American Societies. The Pottawatomie language is emphatic; but we had no means of becoming acquainted with its distinctive character or learning to what class of Indian tongues it belonged."

"All was bustle and tumult, especially at the hour set apart for the distribution of the rations."

"Many were the scenes which here presented themselves, portraying the habits of both red men and the demi-civilized beings around them. The interior of the village was one chaos of mud, rubbish and confusion. Frame and clapboard houses were springing up daily under the active axes and hammers of the speculators, and piles of lumber announced the preparation for yet other edifices of an equally light character. Races occurred frequently on a piece of level sward without the village, on which temporary booths afforded the motley multitude the means of 'stimulating,' and betting and gambling were the order of the day. Within the vile two-storied barrack, which, dignified as usual by the title of Hotel, afforded us quarters, all was in a state of most appalling confusion, filth and racket. The public table was such a scene of confusion that we avoided it from necessity. The French landlord was a sporting character, and everything was left

to chance, who, in the shape of a fat housekeeper, fumed and toiled round the premises from morning to night."

"Within there was neither peace nor comfort, and we spent much of our time in the open air. A visit to the gentlemen at the fort, a morning's grouse shooting or a gallop on the broad surface of the prairie, filled up the intervals in our perturbed attempts at reading or writing indoors, while awaiting the progress of the Treaty."

"I loved to stroll out towards sunset across the river, and gaze upon the level horizon, stretching to the northwest over the surface of the prairie, dotted with innumerable objects far and near. Not far from the river lay many groups of tents constructed of coarse canvas, blankets and mats, and surmounted by poles, supporting meat, moccasins and rags. Their vicinity was always enlivened by various painted Indian figures, dressed in the most gaudy attire. The interior of the hovels generally displayed a confined area, perhaps covered with a few half-rotten mats or shavings, upon which men, women, children and baggage were heaped pellmell."

"Far and wide the grassy prairie teemed with figures; warriors, mounted or on foot, squaws and horses. Here a race between three or four Indian ponies, each carrying a double rider, whooping and yelling like fiends. There a solitary horseman with a long spear, turbaned like an Arab, scouring along at full speed; groups of hobbled horses; Indian dogs and children; or a grave conclave of grey chiefs seated on the grass in consultation."

"It was amusing to wind silently from group to group—here noting the raised knife, the sudden drunken brawl, quashed by the good-natured and even playful interference of the neighbours; there a party breaking up their encampment and falling, with their little train of loaded ponies and wolfish dogs, into the deep, black narrow trail running to the north. You peep into a wigwam, and see a domestic feud; the chief sitting in dogged silence on the mat, while the women, of which there were commonly two or three in every dwelling, and who appeared every evening even more elevated with the fumes of whiskey than the males, read him a

lecture. From another tent a constant voice of wrangling and weeping would proceed, when suddenly an offended fair one would draw the mat aside, and, taking a youth standing without by the hand, lead him apart, and sitting down on the grass, set up the most indescribable whine as she told her grief. Then forward comes an Indian, staggering with his chum from a debauch; he is met by his squaw, with her child dangling in a fold of her blanket behind, and the sobbing and weeping which accompanies her whining appeal to him, as she hangs to his hand, would melt your heart, if you did not see that she was quite as tipsy as himself."

"Here sitting apart and solitary, an Indian expends the exuberance of his intoxicated spirits in the most ludicrous singing and gesticulation; and there squat a circle of unruly toppers indulging themselves in the most unphilosophic and excessive peals of laughter."

"It is a grievous thing that Government is not strong-handed enough to put a stop to the shameful and scandalous sale of whiskey to these poor, miserable wretches. But here lie casks of it for sale under the very eye of the Commissioners, met together for purposes which demand that sobriety should be maintained, were it only that no one should be able to lay at their door an accusation of unfair dealing, and of having taken advantage of the helpless Indian in a bargain, whereby the people of the United States were to be so greatly the gainers. And such was the state of things day by day. However anxious I and others might be to exculpate the United States Government from the charge of cold and selfish policy toward the remnant of the Indian tribes, and from that of resorting to unworthy and diabolical means in attaining possession of their lands—as long as it can be said with truth that drunkenness was not guarded against, and that the means were furnished at the very time of the Treaty, and under the very nose of the Commissioners—how can it be expected but a stigma will attend every transaction of this kind? The sin may lie at the door of the individuals more immediately in contract with them; but for the character of the people as a nation, it should be guarded against, beyond a possibility of

transgression. Who will believe that any act, however formally executed by the chiefs, is valid, as long as it is known that whiskey was one of the parties to the Treaty?"

"But how sped the Treaty?" you will ask.

"Day after day passed. It was in vain that the signal gun from the fort gave notice of an assemblage of chiefs at the council fire. Reasons were always found for its delay. One day an influential chief was not in the way; another, the sky looked cloudy, and the Indian never performs any important business except the sky be clear. At length, on the 21st of September, the Pottawattomies resolved to meet the Commissioners. We were politely invited to be present."

"The Council fire was lighted under a spacious open shed on the green meadow, on the opposite side of the river from that on which the fort stood. From the difficulty of getting all together, it was late in the afternoon when they assembled. There might be twenty or thirty chiefs present, seated at the lower end of the enclosure; while the Commissioners, Interpreters, etc., were at the upper. The palaver was opened by the principal Commissioner. He requested to know why he and his colleagues were called to the council? An old warrior arose, and in short sentences, generally of five syllables, delivered with a monotonous intonation and rapid utterance, gave answer. His gesticulation was appropriate, but rather violent. Rice, the half-breed Interpreter, explained the signification from time to time to the audience; and it was seen that the old chief, who had got his lesson, answered one question by proposing another, the sum and substance of his oration being 'that the assembled chiefs wished to know what was the object of their Great Father at Washington in calling his Red Children together at Chicago!'"

"This was amusing enough after the full explanation given a week before at the opening session; and, particularly, when it was recollected that they had feasted sumptuously during the interval at the expense of their Great Father, was not making very encouraging progress. A young chief arose and spoke vehemently to the same purpose. Hereupon the Commissioner made them a forcible Jacksonian discourse, wherein

a good deal which was akin to threat was mingled with exhortations not to play with their Great Father, but to come to an early determination, whether they would or would not sell and exchange their territory; and this done, the council was dissolved. One or two tipsy old chiefs raised an occasional disturbance, else matters were conducted with due gravity."

"The relative positions of the Commissioner and the whites before the Council fire, and that of the Red Children of the Forest and Prairie, were to me strikingly impressive. The glorious light of the setting sun streaming in under the low roof of the Council House, fell full on the countenances of the former as they faced the West; while the pale light of the East hardly lighted up the dark and painted lineaments of the poor Indians, whose souls evidently clave to their birth-right in that quarter. Even though convinced of the necessity of their removal, my heart bled for them in their desolation and decline. Ignorant and degraded as they may have been in their original state, their degradation is now ten-fold, after years of intercourse with the whites; and their speedy disappearance from the earth appears as certain as though it were already sealed and accomplished."

"Your own reflection will lead you to form the conclusion, and it will be a just one, that even if he had the will, the power would be wanting, for the Indian to keep his territory; and that the business of arranging the terms of an Indian Treaty, whatever it might have been two hundred years ago, while the Indian tribes had not, as now, thrown aside the rude but vigorous intellectual character which distinguished many among them, now lies chiefly between the various traders, agents, creditors and half-breeds of the tribes, on whom custom and necessity have made the degraded chiefs dependent, and the Government Agents. When the former have seen matters so far arranged that their self-interest and various schemes and claims are likely to be fulfilled and allowed to their hearts' content—the silent acquiescence of the Indian follows, of course; and till this is the case, the Treaty can never be amicably effected. In fine, before we

quitted Chicago on the 25th, three or four days later, the Treaty with the Pottawattomies was concluded—the Commissioners putting their hands, and the assembled chiefs their paws, to the same.”

Thus, as so ably described by the English writer, was consummated the transfer by which Illinois ceased to be the land of the Indian. The Indians received as compensation for this vast grant \$100,000.00, “to satisfy sundry individuals in behalf of whom reservations were asked, which the commissioners refused to grant”; \$175,000.00 to “satisfy the claims made against” the Indians; \$100,000.00 to be paid in goods and provisions; \$280,000.00 to be paid in an annuity of \$14,000.00 each year for twenty years; \$150,000.00 “to be applied to the erection of mills, farm houses, Indian houses, blacksmith shops, agricultural improvements,” etc., and \$70,000.00 “for purposes of education and the encouragement of the domestic arts.”

That in the negotiation of this treaty there was more intrigue, and more attention to selfish interests of half-breeds, traders and others seeking personal gain, than in the negotiation of any other Indian treaty seems quite evident. The reading of the schedules of beneficiaries attached to the treaty would tend to indicate that the rights of the Indians themselves were quite a secondary matter.

One remarkable feature of this treaty is the fact that by its provisions some five hundred to one thousand persons, most of them with no Indian blood in their veins, derived personal gain from the transaction; the allowance and payment of individual claims, ranging in amount from a few dollars to many thousands, and, as already noted, about one-third of the cash consideration was thus disbursed. Among the individual beneficiaries also appear the following: Alexander Robinson, \$10,000.00 cash and \$300.00 annuity, “in addition to annuities already granted”; Billy Caldwell, \$10,000.00 cash and \$400.00 annuity, “in addition to annuities already granted”; John Kinzie Clark, \$400.00; allowances to

Antoine Ouilmette and his family; "John K. Clark's Indian children, \$400.00," and various allowances to the Kinzie family.

The mere reading of the treaty demonstrates that the "birds of passage," "land speculators," "men pursuing Indian claims," "creditors of the tribe," "sharpers of every degree" and "Indian traders of every description," so graphically described by Mr. La Trobe, constituted no small minority of the assembly at Chicago on this occasion, or of those who had to do with framing the treaty.

Mr. Quaife is entitled to credit for writing the truth about these transactions in detail in his recent book, *Chicago and the Old Northwest*, (pp. 348-366) under the title, "The Vanishing of the Red Man."

Three years after the signing of this last treaty, and in the years 1835 and 1836 the Pottawattamies—or at least the most of them, then some 5,000 in number—were removed west of the Mississippi, into Missouri, near Fort Leavenworth. They remained there but a year or two, on account of the hostility of the frontier settlers, and were again removed to Council Bluffs, and in a few years again to a reservation in Kansas, others to the Indian Territory. Their history since leaving Illinois has been in the main that of all the Indian tribes—a steady dwindling.

The final chapter of the Indian History of our State must, of necessity, ever be found in the sad and pathetic story of the Treaty of 1833. Its readers will ever follow the Pottawattamies—these Children of the Prairie and of the Forest—as they took their farewell look at old Lake Michigan, and crossed for the last time in their westward journey, the plains, and woods, and streams of the land of the Illinois, with sympathy for their unhappy destiny, and with regret for the causes which made it possible. And will ever turn for a better and brighter picture, to the American days of long ago, when the Indian ancestor sat in treaty making councils

and by the Council Fire, with all the pride of his native manhood; when his eloquent words bespoke the man, and when the calumet, as it passed from hand to hand, from Chief to Chief—whether White or Red—meant peace and friendship and honor and all good will to men.